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[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

575 *796 women drone, then she leaves the house, ostensibly to return to her repository up the valley.

The singers at once begin to compose a new song, describing X's visitor and something of her history. The ritual that follows is that of the ordinary *lsuxtāmem* and requires no special description. On the night of *nusiutālsap* a large number of [532] masks are ordered, including one series representing wasps, another of young lads, and still another of the latter with swollen faces. The only other part of the dance with a distinctive ritual is that of *nabusam*.

In the early evening the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to [532] inspect the enormous wasps' nest which the carpenters have [178] erected behind the fire. In recent years this has been made of canvas, taking the place of matting. Within are several stages, on which the defenders stand, each a *kusiut* wearing a wasp's mask and carrying a miniature bow and arrow. The attackers are other members of the society chosen for their small stature and armed with clubs and branches; each wears a boy's mask and each carries a second, representing the same individual with badly swollen face. Considerable time is required to perfect the arrangements and select the performers, but at last all is in readiness and the uninitiated are called in.

They marvel at the enormous wasps' nest and presently [774] witness an assault on it. The attackers, protected by armour, [825] valiantly beat on the structure with clubs as they swing their branches as if brushing away the angry insects; this is the way that boys normally attack a wasps' nest. The defenders discharge their arrows and at intervals one of the attackers calls out in pain and falls down, presently rising with badly swollen face. The uninitiated do not realize that he has slipped the second mask from beneath his blanket to his face. X stands at one side, throwing his arm with a sweeping motion in the direction of the combat, while *Awa'likwelsaix* gives her customary explanations. At last the nest is beaten down whereupon one of the Cannibals begins to growl and the uninitiated rush away. The ritual concludes in the usual way.

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as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retali-
ation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [411]
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- [177]
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

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714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[1] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for
701 a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
703 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the
[642] authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xe-tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[1] Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

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he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would lie back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the ocean. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dyed and undyed cedar-bark which was stored in the bow of the canoe. During the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed themselves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the

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If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over the grave of the person avenged.

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

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Tcûsa remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Ḳoḳxwelioti* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he hadanswered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tcûsa*'s brother, *Ne·xlo·s*, wore the mask of his *tsuwinam* as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one except in a *tsaok* ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; he knewthat he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an ancestral myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Puḷus* where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gatheredfrom all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished todisregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which thy had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Puḷus* himself had not spoken, but he nowappeared and advised the people not to harm *Tcûsa*, since everlasting hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they virtually assured the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Puḷus* brought forward a moose-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tcûsa* leapt from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tcûsa* answered proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough tosupport him, since his many potlatches had made him incomparably heavy. None the less, he accepted the honour, an assistance to landing sown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he waseated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Puḷus* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for he throng.

Though *Puḷus* had decided against the immediate illing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Ne·xwuḷai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ashes, and his hair tied upon a top-knot with weasel skins as is customary during war. *Ne·xwuḷai* moved sunwise around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tcûsa* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own musket, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

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Coola the important men of *Sɨnxɬ*, *Tɛɛmotɬ*, and *Älqälăxɬ* met at *Q̣mqo·ɬs* and discussed the matter stormily. *Potlɛs* was the leading Bella Coola chief at the time, but he alone did not attend the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a storehouse owned by the murdered woman on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River, near the former Hudson's Bay Company's post. *Bɨlxwalaks* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Potlɛs*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, his face smeared with ashes and his hair tied in a top-knot with a weasel-skin. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Potlɛs* had decided on war. He seated himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and intimated that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating: he was *numitl*, so no one disregarded his wishes and the inmates even of his own house used the refuse holes for egress during that period. No other case is known of such an action, but *Potlɛs* could do as he liked, and he manifested his grief and determination in this spectacular manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered; *Potlɛs* wasted no words:

"*Bɨlxwalaks* has been murdered," he said. "She was a chief and my relative.[12] I am going to war. We shall use her own powder and shot."

The ammunition was distributed and the Bella Coola prepared for the expedition.

Owing to the prestige of *Potlɛs*, volunteers came swarming in, not only from Bella Coola itself, but from Kimsquit and *Tăl·io* as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kwakiutl territory except a slave named, like the Kwakiutl warrior chief, *Siwid*, though not, however, related to him. This man had lived among the Bella Coola for so long that he was thought reliable; he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that his old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night at Kwatna. Next morning, *Kwalsănɨ*, one of the leading warriors, tied his hair into a top-knot and smeared his face with ashes. He was a man whose bravery had been firmly established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the beach within easy musket range and called out:

"Please fire at my top-knot. If you hit it and make it fall, so will we lay low our foes."

[12] It is doubtful whether she was a kinswoman, but *Potlɛs* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

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q̓álikw: Omen of death, generic term. [787]
q̓álka: One of the berries, probably raspberry.
q̓áma, vocative, q̓ámas: Mother, term used by child. [824]
Q̓amálxem: Celebrated Carrier chief.
Q̓ámaxa: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
*Q̓ámspoxtámem: am'lal-*a name of a Kimsquit man.
q̓ámxámila, vocative, q̓ámxámilas: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smmq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
q̓aoxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
q̓aoxtuks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Q̓aominoxka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Q̓apátus: Kusiut name of a *Stuxx* man. [825]
Q̓á·pxaok: ustámq chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Q̓áqa^{a}li: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Q̓áqos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcaqos,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
q̓álánam: Kusiut with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyanum.*
q̓ánitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Q̓álmus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
q̓álq̓': Star-fish. [825]
q̓ám: Rabbit.
q̓á·q̓: Salmon-berry. [824]
Q̓áxkwáls: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
q̓ázmats: Unidentified plant.
q̓ulum: Black cod. [825]
q̓um, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
qumta: Wooden armour.
Qaxhlit: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm. [714]
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Qay·áwasila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Qeil: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Sixkiut* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuxx* in the beginning of time.
qe·ka: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Qeldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
qi'aqa: One of the *s'alt* dances.
Qíqio, "Head": *Stuxx* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
qolqolyalwaslaisyuxum: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [578]
qlaklaitsis: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [431] [552]

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ē'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mā'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *snak*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

WAR.

When a war party was organized the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their

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726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
● [714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A
watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing
[291] near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number
of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early
in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village utter-
ing their war cry 'ʂoi!' They took a stand at the fire which burns
in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in
taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children
along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt,
and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had
taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole.
When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each
canoe and swang the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all
sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were
valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the
Sisan'ku.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The
people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a
[731] tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them,
took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of
the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned
home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the
Tenaqtaq. The Tinneh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the
mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent
two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the
village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses
and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they
were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives,
lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women,
leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge
for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt
the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mx were attacked by the
Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nequ'lku, but the raven,
according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the
village of Nequ'lku. They came in many canoes, while most of the
Talio'mx were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing.
Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and
women had also remained at home. The father of Nuk'alu'sta, who told
me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by
his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which
consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each
corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower.
Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy
while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mx had only
four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the
village was well fortified. The Talio'mx had seen the canoes coming and
were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be
able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.